

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ROME 07884 01 OF 02 140154Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 TRSE-00 /058 W  
-----140216Z 119582 /73

R 131725Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ROME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4601  
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMCONSUL MILAN  
AMCONSUL GENOA  
AMCONSUL FLORENCE  
NAPLES 3710  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 7884

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, IT  
SUBJECT: PCI BEGINS CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

SUMMARY. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC) OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) WENT INTO SESSION ON MAY 12 WITH A THREE-ITEM AGENDA. THE FIRST DAY WAS DEVOTED TO THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND FEATURED A REPORT BY CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES GROUP CHIEF ALESSANDRO NATTA, REPORTEDLY ONE OF BERLINGUER'S MOST LOYAL SUPPORTERS IN THE LEADERSHIP. NATTA'S LENGTHY SPEECH EMPHASIZED THE POSITIVE IN EFFORTS TO REACH AN ACCEPTABLE PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (DC) AND THE OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE SO-CALLED CONSTITUTIONAL ARC. OUR INITIAL IMPRESSION IS THAT THE PCI LEADERSHIP HAS PULLED BACK SOMEWHAT FROM MAXIMALIST DEMANDS EXPRESSED LAST MONTH AND THAT IT WILL USE THE CURRENT CC TO GAIN AS BROAD A CONSENSUS AS POSSIBLE FOR ITS PRESENT STRATEGY AS PART OF AN EFFORT TO CONTROL DISSENT AT THE PARTY'S BASE.  
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PAGE 02 ROME 07884 01 OF 02 140154Z

THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT CC WILL APPROVE CERTAIN PERSONNEL CHANGES WHICH WILL BE PROPOSED. END SUMMARY.

1. THE PCI'S CENTROL COMMITTEE WENT INTO SESSION ON MAY 12 WITH THE EXPECTATION THAT IT WOULD COMPLETE ITS CONSIDERATION OF THE THREE POINTS ON ITS AGENDA BY THE EVENING OF MAY 13. SPECIFIC ITEMS TO BE CON-

SIDERED ARE: THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION WITH A REPORT BY CHAMBER OF DEPUTY GROUP CHIEF NATTA; PROGRESS MADE IN DRAFTING THE PARTY'S LONG TALKED ABOUT MIDDLE-TERM PLAN WITH A REPORT BY GIORGIO NAPOLITANO; AND OTHER SUBJECTS.

2. THE FIRST DAY OF THE CC WAS TOTALLY DEVOTED TO NATTA'S REPORT AND A DISCUSSION OF IT IN WHICH APPROXIMATELY TWENTY MEMBERS REPORTEDLY PARTICIPATED WITH BRIEF SPEECHES. WHILE THE FULL RECORD OF ALL THE INTERVENTIONS HAS NOT YET BEEN PUBLISHED, IT SEEMS THAT NONE OF THE PARTY BIGS PARTICIPATED DIRECTLY IN THE DEBATE. NATTA'S SPEECH ITSELF COULD BE DIVIDED INTO TWO PRINCIPAL PARTS. THE FIRST CONCERNED THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES FOR SOME TYPE OF PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD. THE SECOND, AND RELATIVELY SHORTER PORTION, CENTERED ON INTERNAL PARTY PROBLEMS.

3. ON THE INTER-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS, NATTA REFLECTED A MODERATELY CAUTIOUS POSITION, EMPHASIZING THE POSITIVE RATHER THAN THE NEGATIVE. PRIMARY IN HIS PRESENTATION WAS THE FACT THAT THE DIFFICULTY OF THE TIMES MAKE IT NECESSARY TO REACH AN ACCORD IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME. AT THE SAME TIME HE SUGGESTED THAT SUFFICIENT AREAS OF CONVERGENCE ON KEY ISSUES EXIST TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO REACH AN ACCORD AND HE ADDED THAT THE TEN MONTHS OF THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN A POSITIVE EXPERIENCE. REGARDING THE AREAS OF POLICY

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ROME 07884 01 OF 02 140154Z

TO BE INCLUDED IN THE ACCORD, NATTA ENUMERATED SIX OF THE SEVEN CONTAINED IN A DOCUMENT APPROVED BY THE PCI DIRECTORATE ON MARCH 31. (ROME 5470) THESE ARE: FOREIGN POLICY, LAW AND ORDER, ECONOMIC POLICY, EDUCATIONAL REFORMS, REFORM OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS, AND NOMINATIONS TO IMPORTANT STATE POSITIONS. BEGIN COMMENT. REGARDING FOREIGN POLICY, WE UNDERSTAND THAT PAJETTA WAS ON THE PCI DELEGATION TO THE FIRST ROUND OF INTER-PARTY TALKS SPECIFICALLY TO PROPOSE THAT THIS BE AN AREA INCLUDED IN THE ACCORD. WE ARE TOLD THAT DC PRESIDENT MORO FORCEFULLY REJECTED THIS SUGGESTION, AND THE PCI DID NOT CHOOSE TO PUSH IT FURTHER AT THAT TIME. END COMMENT.

4. REGARDING INTRA-PARTY DIFFICULTIES, NATTA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THEY DO EXIST. HE NOTED THAT THE PCI NOW FINDS THAT IT MUST ACT ON A MULTIPLICITY OF FRONTS, INFERRING THAT THIS IS STRAINING ITS HUMAN RESOURCES AND CREATING PROBLEMS OF STRATEGY. AT THE

SAME TIME HE OBSERVED THAT IN THE FACE OF PROGRESS  
TOWARDS AN AGREEMENT AMONG THE POLITICAL FORCES,  
THERE HAS ARISEN NOT ONLY A MORE INTENSE AND  
LEGITIMATE, INTERNAL DEBATE BUT ALSO POLEMICES.

5. FOLLOWING CONSIDERATION OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL  
SITUATION, THE CC WILL TURN ITS ATTENTION TO THE  
PARTY'S LONG-HERALDED MIDDLE TERM PLAN. ACCORDING TO  
OUR INFORMATION, DELAYS IN DRAFTING THE ACCORD  
HAVE CONTINUED BECAUSE OF POLICY DIFFERENCES AND  
NECESSARY ATTENTION TO MORE SERIOUS ISSUES.  
ACCORDINGLY, NAPOLITANO IS EXPECTED TO REPORT ON THE  
PROGRESS THE CRAFTING COMMITTEE IS MAKING, EXPLAINING  
IN A GENERAL MANNER THE OUTLINE OF THE PLAN.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ROME 7884

6. CONCERNING THE FINAL ISSUE ON THE AGENDA, THERE  
ARE STRONG INDICATIONS THAT IT WILL DEAL WITH PERSONNEL  
CHANGES WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP. INFORMATION  
CURRENTLY AVAILABLE TO USE FROM PRESS AND OTHER SOURCES  
INDICATE THAT PAOLO BUFALINI WILL LEAVE THE PARTY  
SECRETARIAT FOR HEALTH REASONS AT HIS OWN REQUEST.  
HE WILL BE REPLACED BY LUCA PAVOLINI, CURRENTLY  
EDITOR OF L'UNITA. ALFREDO REICALIN, EDITOR OF

RINASCITA, WILL TAKE PAVOLINI'S PLACE AT L'UNITA WITH ADALBERTO MINUCCI, REGIONAL SECRETARY FOR PIEMONTE, MOVING INTO REICHLIN'S OLD JOB. ACHILLE OCHETTO, WHO HAS JUST LEFT HIS JOB AS REGIONAL SECRETARY FOR SICILY, WILL TAKE CHARGE OF THE PARTY'S SECTION FOR SCHOOLS, REPLACING GIUSEPPE CHIARANTE, WHO WILL ASSIST PAVOLINI IN THE PARTY'S SECTION FOR PRESS AND PROPAGANDA.

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PAGE 02 ROME 07884 02 OF 02 140155Z

7. COMMENT. WHILE WE SHALL HAVE A MORE IN-DEPTH COMMENT TO MAKE FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF THE CC, WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE PCI IS BACKING AWAY FROM THE MAXIMALIST POSITION, I.E. ADVANCING THE NEED FOR A CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK, SET FORTH IN PERLINGUER'S APRIL 3 ARTICLE IN L'UNITA. FACED WITH THE REALITY OF A RELATIVELY UNITED DC AND THE PROSPECTS THAT A BREAKDOWN IN THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS COULD LEAD TO EARLY NATIONAL ELECTIONS, THE PCI LEADERSHIP SEEMS PREPARED TO ACCEPT AN ACCORD ON A LIMITED NUMBER OF ISSUES. WHILE THE PARTY WILL THEN PRESENT THIS, IF IT IS ACHIEVED, AS A FURTHER SUCCESS OF ITS STRATEGY AND ANOTHER STEP FORWARD, IT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE TO MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT TO CONVINCE AT LEAST SOME AREAS OF ITS DOUBTING BASE OF THIS. FOR THE TIME BEING, THE PCI REMAINS A PARTY WHOSE LEADERSHIP FINDS ITSELF IN MID-STREAM, SEEKING TO KEEP ITS ARMY OF SUPPORT UP WITH IT WHILE AT THE SAME TIME STRIVING TO MOVE A STEP CLOSER TO THE OPPOSITE SHORE.

8. FINALLY, CONCERNING THE PERSONNEL SHIFTS, WE DO NOT SEE THEM AS SURPRISING OR AS INDICATING ANY SPECIAL DIFFICULTY FOR THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY. RATHER, THEY PRESUMABLY REFLECT A DESIRE TO IMPROVE THE PARTY'S PERFORMANCE IN ITS WORK AMONG THE MASSES AT THIS CRITICAL TIME IN ITS HISTORY.  
GARDNER

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## Message Attributes

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**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PCI BEGINS CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION SUMMARY. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC) OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) WENT INTO SESSION ON MAY 12  
**TAGS:** PINT, IT, PCI  
**To:** STATE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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